

THE ABOLITIONIST

A Publication of the Radical Libertarian Alliance

Has not the experience of centuries shown that gradualism in theory is perpetuity in practice?

—William Lloyd Garrison

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WHAT HAPPENS NOW:

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE MOVEMENT

by Jerome Tuccille

There are developments and trends taking place in American society at this very moment which make it possible to expect that our current drift in the direction of a total state will soon be slowed and eventually reversed; that within the next few years American society will become looser and less regimented; that by the end of the 1970's we will be living in a less militarized and more decentralized atmosphere than exists today.

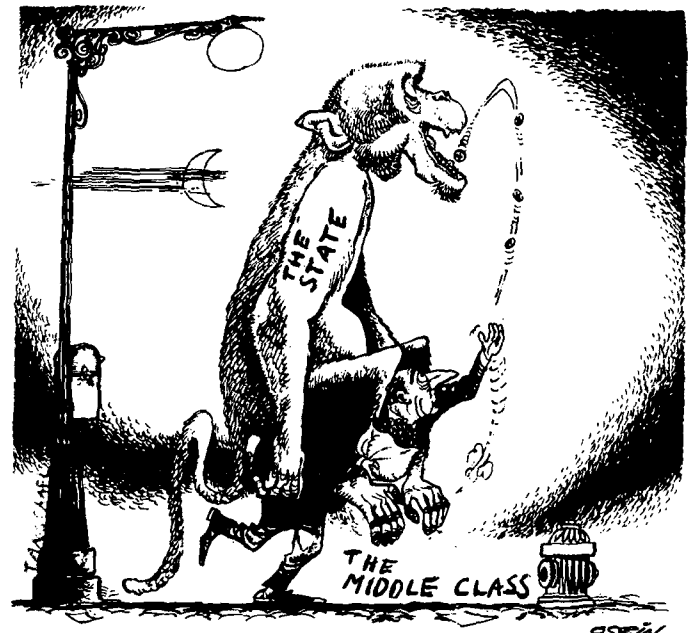
Our steady advance toward increasing state authoritarianism was made possible, primarily, by the sharp polarization between radical groups on the one hand—students, revolutionary Marxists, and disenfranchised minorities—and on the other hand, the gigantic middle class which comprises the great majority in our advanced technological economy. As long as the authorities could scapegoat these radical elements, particularly the blacks and student militants of the far Left, and make it appear to the usually law-abiding middle-income class—the seventy-five or eighty percent making between six and twenty-five thousand dollars a year—that the radicals were solely responsible for the sorry state of American society, the politicians could tighten their political stranglehold on the people with the support of a large majority of American voters. This has been the condition that has existed in this country until the present time. The average American voter and taxpayer, feeling that his standard-of-living and everything else he holds sacred was about to be yanked from under him by bellicose left wing radicals, chose to cast his lot with the government in every crisis situation that arose.

Unwittingly, the radicals assisted in this destructive polarization in the final years of the 1960's by their adoption of violent tactics when everything else had failed. If there is one thing the middle-class property owner fears more than anything else it is the spectre of armed revolutionaries, particularly blacks, marching past his barbecue pit with reckless contempt for life and property. In any confrontation between the radicals and the forces of "Law and Order" eighty percent of the American people would opt for Law and Order every time. By condemning the middle class as "pigs," by showering contempt upon the institution of private property and business activity, by "trashing" automobile windshields and other symbols of middle class America, the radicals played into the hands of the politicians and their policies of polarization, and helped to weaken the impact of their own cause.

Now all this seems to be in a state of change. Every day more "respectable" elements in society, including many established representatives of the liberal Left are joining the radical movement. The violence of the far Left which came into vogue during 1969 and 1970 has been discredited and abandoned by all except a tiny diehard minority. While acts of violence against the state can be morally justified in terms of basic self-defense, it has been recognized as a senseless tactic without a chance in the world of succeeding. The universal cry now is for non-violent revolution which is nothing more or less than massive civil disobedience, passive resistance and refusal to cooperate with governmental authority in carefully selected areas.

In addition to the disgust and outrage generated by the continuation of the war and an aggressive American foreign policy in general, the middle class has now discovered economic grievances of its own: rising unemployment affecting a sizeable percentage of the white-collar middle class; a high level of inflation which seems virtually out of control; the devaluation of

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the American dollar; the spectre of higher taxation on income, property and luxury staples such as tobacco, alcohol and gasoline; and a corresponding collapse in institutional services—education, police and fire protection, sanitation, housing, transportation, utilities, telecommunications—even as the tax schedule goes up; In short, there is an accelerating decline in confidence in political institutions affecting a larger number of people than ever before. More members of the law-abiding "silent majority," including such paragons of status quo America as policemen and firemen, are engaging in various forms of civil disobedience by ignoring court injunctions forbidding them to strike, by fighting for their property rights in many cases of government condemnation of their land, and by joining in tax resistance organizations.

Just as libertarians had become "respectable" through the adoption of libertarian rhetoric by some spokesmen for the New Left, so the entire radical movement is becoming respectable because of the growing number of Americans now willing to break the law in order to achieve their own ends. The tax-resisting middle American can no longer criticize the draft-dodging student for engaging in "un-American" activities; he can no longer afford to be self-righteous about others who refuse to "obey the law." More and more people are becoming "niggers" in our society. The cudgel of government is no longer wielded exclusively against blacks, students and other militant "undesireables." Everybody is fair game when the authorities act to maintain control, and more people are becoming radicalized with this awareness.

Tied in with this is the fact that the liberal establishment which controls so much of the nation's media is being forced, partly because of pressure from the far Left and the libertarian Right, partly because of an honest re-evaluation of its old bias in favor of centralized control, to take a more critical view of the kind of technocratic superstructure it is primarily responsible for bringing into existence. It is being forced to "liberalize" itself, to take a more tolerant view of the politics of decentralization, to give a wider hearing to other views besides the tired banter of the think-tank intelligentsia. In effect, the liberal establishment is being forced to loosen up, to become less rigid and doctrinaire, to give others wider access to the national communications network, to "decentralize" public opinion which will serve, over a period of time, to reverse our steady march toward the total state.

Most important of all is the impact that will be made by the generation of young Americans now entering their early and middle teens. These kids have grown up in an atmosphere of political resistance and continuing social upheaval. They have been surrounded thanks to the instantaneous communication of the television media, by the full pictorial horror of war, death, destruction and every other form of human depravity from the day they reached the age of understanding. If we think we are witnessing war-resistance and anti-draft activity today, it will seem as nothing compared to the resistance that will take place later in this present decade if our current war policies are not reversed. Unless we are living under the threat of direct military attack from outside forces, the youth of the late 1970's will simply refuse on a much grander scale than ever before to risk their lives in a senseless, adventuristic war. Theirs will be the generation of true internationalism—isolationism in military affairs and universal cooperation in areas of trade, travel, cultural and social intercourse. Having witnessed what their older brothers and sisters—blood brothers and sisters in many cases—have gone through in the name of international power politics, they will refuse to put up with it themselves. They will negate the very concept of the nation-state.

So we are witnessing the beginning of a new coalition in American society. Ideological revolutionaries, radical student and militant black power advocates are no longer alone in their struggle against the abuses of government. Disaffiliated libertarians from the Right have entered the breach in large numbers since 1969; Left Wing liberals and Jeffersonian Democrats have grown increasingly radical in their own attitude toward the arrogance of the centrally-controlled society; and middle Americans previously apolitical for the most part, are showing a greater willingness to engage in illegal activities to redress their own particular economic grievances. Aims of these disparate elements differ widely in most cases, to be sure, but they are united by a growing disgust against the war in southeast Asia and, hopefully, military hawkishness in general, and a new awareness of the necessity to adopt radical tactics. They expect to see any results in the near future.

The eventual success of the radical movement, in terms of actually reversing our push toward the total state and initiating an advance in the opposite direction, depends to a large extent on



middle class cooperation. Middle America, comprising as it does the vast numerical majority in our society and contributing seventy-five percent of the taxes which keep our state Monolith in motion, can either "make the revolution" in a very real sense or it can succeed in crushing it and ushering in a state of total repression. If the continued radicalization of the middle class can be maintained, the politicians will have a great deal more to fear from them than they ever did from the blacks and students of the New Left; if the authorities succeed in co-opting middle America back to supporting a policy of politics-as-usual, or if the radicals succeed in alienating the silent majority as they did in the late 1960's, a reversal of our present political situation will become but impossible.

The greater danger, it seems to me, lies in the area of alienation. It is becoming more difficult for the political establishment to engage in successful co-optation. There is no permanent way of reducing inflation, short of embracing hard-money, free-market economic policies, and this is not likely to happen under either a conservative or a liberal administration. It is impossible for government to reduce the tax rate, or even stabilize it at its present level, when more and more people are demanding better institutional services that are now provided by the government. To improve the services it offers, government can either cut back on costs by firing civil employees—thereby increasing the unemployment rate among the middle-class, or

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driving ex-public employees to the welfare rolls—or increase taxes to raise additional revenue, a measure which will also create further dissatisfaction in the ranks of the middle-income class. There are no other alternatives. No matter which course it adopts, government will lose in the long run. If it decides to do nothing and try to preserve the status quo, it will only accelerate the state of institutional collapse we are already facing. If the middle class is polarized back to a position of hard-line establishmentarian politics, it will most likely come about through alienating tactics adopted by the radicals.

And this is the area in which libertarians will play the greatest role.

Within the radical alliance, the people who stand the best chance of appealing to middle-class interests and keeping middle Americans actively involved in radical politics, are the free market libertarians. The radical Left, with all its hairy-chested bravado regarding violent revolution, with its denunciation of private property and general business activity, with its destructive sloganeering about "pigs" and "fascists" applied to everyone who prefers short hair and ties to jeans and love beads, can never expect to win the complete confidence of either the white-collar or blue-collar middle class. Free market libertarians, however, through their fervent devotion to the principles of pure free enterprise, through their championship of the marketplace, the right to own private property, through their dedication to the Ethic of individualism which is still very much a part of the American heritage, in fiction if not in actual practice, constitutes the only organized group in the radical movement which can succeed in capturing the imagination of middle-class America. The great challenge that libertarians face in the remaining years of the 1970's is whether they can actually succeed in doing so.

There are several obstacles that lie ahead. There is the danger that libertarians, at least a substantial number of them, will return to Right Wing politics if the going gets too rough, or if they become disillusioned with the excesses committed by the radical Left. But I do not see this as a real probability. The breach on the Right that has been created between libertarians and conservatives is already too wide to be bridged; there have been too many nasty words exchanged, and too many real differences in basic philosophy and politics which were never visible before have now become evident.

There is the danger that libertarianism will lose its momentum as an organized movement and return to the obscurity and anonymity it has suffered for the major part of the twentieth century. But, again, I do not see this as a real possibility. Libertarians are better organized and better financed now than at any time in the past, and the exposure that the libertarian movement will receive from this point onward will exceed by many times the amount it has ever received before. There is also the danger that libertarianism could become fractionalized and disoriented because of internal bickering over abstractions which probably seem unimportant outside the movement. But this, too, is no likely to happen. The great strength of libertarianism lies in its nature as a flexible and non-doctrinaire school of thought based on principles of non-aggression, and its innate ability to accommodate a wide range of attitudes and theories as long as they are non-coercive. Philosophical squabbles among Objectivists, natural law anarchists, autarchists, Stirnerites, syndicalists whatever, will only strengthen the movement in the long run, give it flexibility and increase its ability to absorb other

philosophies and styles of life which are also grounded in non-aggression. There is room for Quakerism, philosophical pacifism, Christian anarchism, the new Catholic resistance movement, Charles A. Reich's *Consciousness III* and many other separate and distinct avenues of thought under the broad umbrella of basic libertarian principles.

There is every reason to expect that libertarianism will continue to grow in size and influence, and stake out a permanent position of its own among other radical groups on the contemporary American scene. Libertarians will find their greatest areas of common interest with Jeffersonian Democrats and other political decentralists; possibly with the Left-liberals of the Mark Hatfield or George McGovern variety who seem to be moving away from the state-corporatism of the New Deal—New Frontier—Great Society Democrats; with pacifists, anti-war and anti-draft groups attracted to a neo-isolationist foreign policy in military affairs; with middle-class tax resistance organizations where, potentially, libertarians can have their greatest influence; and other splinter organizations advocating civil disobedience and non-violent resistance to the dictates of government.

Realistically, libertarians cannot hope to achieve their ideal of total voluntarism and total individual freedom within the foreseeable future. We have moved too far beyond that concept over the past eighty years to see that goal attained in one leap. But there is no question that the path toward a completely voluntary society is through the politics of radical

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decentralization. If we can succeed in breaking power down into small units; if we can succeed in reducing the level of decision making authority to the state, to the city, further down to the neighborhoods; if we can succeed in creating a condition of real Jeffersonian Democracy with all monies, all decisions and all institutions controlled on a community level—from that point onward the ideal of pure individual freedom will no longer seem to be a utopian pipedream. The change will most likely take place in stages, step by step, level by level over a period of years. It can all be accomplished within twenty years if there are no major reversals along the way.

Libertarians will be channeling their energies into the three available areas through which change can be achieved in any given society—the areas of education, reform, and revolution. The education of the masses will continue through a steady flow of books, articles, essays, radio and television exposure designed to promote the libertarian point-of-view. The tactic of education is vitally important; the more people there are in society embracing a certain set of principles, the easier it will be for those principles to become translated into concrete alternatives. Education must continue but, by itself, it is not enough.

Reform within the system must also continue at as fast a rate as possible. It is in the interests of all of us to make life as pleasant as we can while we go about the business of establishing an ideal society. Liberalized abortion laws, censorship laws, draft laws, tax laws, anti-trade laws and anti-sex laws are better than oppressive laws in all these areas. The great danger of reform is that it tends to be cooptive—that is, it tends to defuse the radical movement at critical moments in history. Politicians never offer the people more than half of what they're looking for and many of us are apt to shrug our shoulders with the attitude, "well what the hell! Half a loaf is better than none!" The danger of a liberalized draft law, for instance, is that it acts to push toward the ideal condition of no draft law at all. However, reform can make life a bit more pleasant for all of us, and at best, co-optation is never more than temporary anyway. Nixon succeeds in de-fusing the anti-war movement for three or six months at a time by bringing home some of the troops instead of all of them, but every act of co-optation has its backlash and each backlash is invariably a bit sharper than the last. Co-optation can never work over an extended period of time.

The major changes will come about through the use of revolutionary strategy, and this is the most valuable tactic of all as far as immediate change is concerned. Libertarians will continue their efforts in the realm of non-violent revolution, concentrating most of their energies on the anti-draft and anti-tax issues, the two *bete noirs* of Right Wing libertarians. Potentially, tax resistance is the most effective means available to reduce the power of government, and the one feared the most by political authority. It is the one tactic which is likely to attract the interest of middle-class Americans, over substained period, and it is valuable from that standpoint alone. It is also vitally important since it deprives government of the capital it needs to finance its own institutions. While it is true that government does have the capability of printing more paper currency as long as it maintains a monopoly on our money supply, this would inevitably lead to the destruction of the state money system and the state's credit standing in the international marketplace. It would also bring about the destruction of the state-controlled and state-regulated ecoomic structure. People would be forced to find a new medium

of exchange as the state currency plummeted in value; in short, it would lead to the creation of a more stable and viable form of "people's money," probably gold and silver-backed certificates, which would be more acceptable in world markets.

And so we look to the future with optimism. If the readjustment that is presently taking place in American society, if the growing coalition of dissatisfied factions and especially the radicalization of a larger number of middle class Americans can be sustained, it will work toward the establishment of a radical new direction in our political, economic and social system during the rest of this decade and long into the future.

Of course, there are no guarantees.

Of course, a development could take place next week, next month or next year which will accelerate our steady advance toward a total police state in the United States of America.

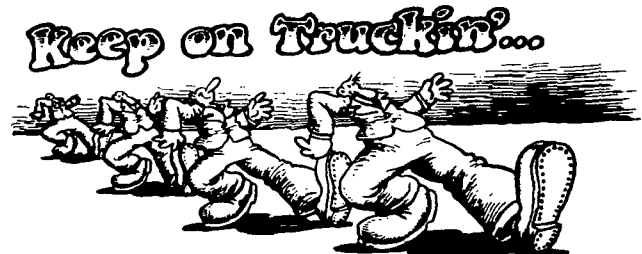
Of course the radical coalition could collapse and break apart.

Of course the silent majority of middle class Americans could be polarized further in the direction of establishment politics and resistance to the forces for change and decentralization.

Of course there is no guarantee that we can succeed in eventually "libertarianizing" the society we live in.

But we have to continue to try and to take advantage of the opportunities available to us—whenever they become available to us.

It can work. With a little luck and a lot of effort it will work. When the only alternatives are slavery or freedom, it is certainly in the interest of al of us to see that it does work. —



LIBERTARIAN GATHERING

A gathering of our tribe is in the planning stage for (perhaps) the Houston area just before the Labor Day weekend. Libertarians in texas and california have taken the lead in organizing the conference which, unlike most such events, will not feature paid speakers and a convention atmosphere. Rahter it may turn out to be an attempt to live together for about a week and hash out our mutual problems. One of the chief among them, I think, is the organizational gap between our essentially regional and affinity groupings, and our internationally coordinated enemy. The conference should aslo get down to concrete actions that we can initiate on a local level. Hopefully, the gathering will include at elast a few people from all areas and groups and will result in another upsurge in libertarian activities. Information from HARD CORE NEWS (which is the texas Libertarian Allcance newsletter) PO Box 66321, Houston Texas 77006; from Bill Steel at PO Box 5140, Sherman Oaks, Ca. 91403, or from myself c/o the Abolitionist.

Ralph Fucetola

COMING UP RANK THROUGH THE RANKS

by a Disgruntled Grunt

As a person rises in corporate hierarchy he is given more control over others. The kind of person best for a corporation as a manager is the kind who will use his authority always to advance the interest of the corporation. A company man places the financial interests of his company above the moral principle of treating every person as an end.

Once someone accepts a management position he represents the corporation and is responsible for enforcing company policy on his subordinates. If he wants to continue rising in the hierarchy, a manager must satisfy those above him, but not necessarily those below. Managers with ambition must regard those below themselves as resources, as personnel, not people, as means not ends. This attitude is immoral.

To be a manager a person must have an authoritarian mentality. That is, he must believe that he has the right to exercise authority over others, that those above him in the chain of command have the right to delegate authority to him, and that he, in turn, has an obligation to respect and enforce their policies.

In a large corporation the policy makers and the policy enforcers are different people. It is the job of the local managers to be the enforcers of the organization. They have some room for personal judgement, but when an edict is issued, they must enforce it, even if they disagree with it. This would make them hypocrites, except for their remarkable ability to adapt. People don't like to think of their own hypocrisy, so whenever it is not expedient to change their actions, what usually happens is, they change their opinions to suit their actions. Like good Communists, middle management follows the party line. A new corporate edict causes them to see things in a new light. What was right before is suddenly revealed to be wrong, and what was wrong before became right when corporate headquarters, for some reason, so decides. The real reasons for corporations changing the way things are done are often not revealed to lower management. Lower management must blindly obey and trust the wisdom of the higher-ups. This devotion is motivated by desire for money and status, encouraged by our consumeristic culture and rationalized by a corruption of the work ethic which glorifies financial success and reverses authority, regardless of how such status is achieved.

The Horatio Alger myth still supports the corporate state. The myth states that through useful diligence, hard work, productivity, creativity, and astuteness at satisfying consumer demands, a person will rise to the top; anyone with these virtues can hope to become chairman of the board of General Motors or IBM. This myth fosters undue respect for those who make it to the top, by ascribing their success to possession of virtues.

In a free market economy there might be some validity to this myth, but it is inapplicable to success in the modern corporate state. In an economy like this one, where the coercive mechanisms of government exert commanding influence, and where bureaucratic organizations are encouraged by the legal structure, it is more important to know the right people, to be in good with those who wield power, and to obey orders, than to be productive.

In a small business, the employer is more directly accountable for his actions than is a manager in a large corporation. The small businessman does not have the excuse that he is only enforcing

the policy of the company. He may have to divulge the real reasons for his actions in face to face confrontations with the affected employees. Having to be both policy maker and policy enforcer, an independent businessman might retain more human attributes than the robot management of big bureaucracies.

Unfortunately, small businesses are not as competitive in the present legal environment which is geared for corporate domination. The small businessmen are being driven out of the market. As government has gotten more centralized, bigger, and more powerful, small businessmen can no longer afford to pay the lawyers, bribe the legislators, and lobby for their economic interest. The small businessmen are less competitive in the economic sphere. The corporations have taken over.

The decision makers in the modern corporate state are so far removed from the flesh and blood consequences of their decisions and they have been so desensitized over the years that they can't understand, or even imagine, the depth of their own depravity. Only the most ruthless and despicable kind of person can do the things necessary to obtain big government contracts for his company. Only the most thoroughly corrupt, singlemindedly immoral degenerate can lobby, bribe, and propagandize for subsidies, franchises, tax advantages, tariffs, monopolies, patents, regulations, etc. favorable to his company and harmful to competitors. Yet, this is the kind of person best suited for upper-management of the corporations in the corporate state of the United States today, and this is the kind of person who makes it to the top. This is the kind of person the majority of people are taught to respect and emulate.

It is bad to be well-adjusted to a sick society. To be a success in the corporate state is evidence of corruption not of virtue. Only the most brainwashed, callous, shallow, ruthless individuals can perform well in a rotten society. Those who retain elements of their humanity can't keep pace. —

libertarian analysis

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FACING MY LAI

by Robert Giley

Conservatives, fascists, Randians, and other Consciousness I types are hero worshippers. They like to hear of heroic exploits. They believe in valor even when it doesn't exist. They manufacture heroes. Carefully screened government apologists are sent to the moon and come back certified champions. That is what these people like. What they don't like is to hear about how miserable life is for many people. They are fed up with the news media reporting uninspiring events. So detached from reality are they that they even blame the media for creating the events.

From the Democratic convention in Chicago in 1968 to the recent invasion of Laos, the press and TV news show have been blamed for trying to make trouble.

These Consciousness I people, championed by Spiro Agnew, like to be told how great America is, how noble it is, how honorable. They think the only thing wrong with America is that some people don't appreciate how great it is. It is no wonder they hate the press for reporting the news when the news proves the contrary.

The My Lai massacre is a fact they refuse to face. It is hard to find anything beautiful, noble, or heroic about it. Lt. Calley has complained that his conviction stripped him of his honor. It may also strip these American hero worshipers of their carefully nurtured illusions. But first they have to accept the verdict (if not the sentence). And judging by the volume of letters and telegrams sent to the president after the verdict, and Nixon's subsequent actions, they have not accepted it. They are even trying to make a hero out of Lt. Calley. He has his own song "The Ballad of Lt. Calley." It will go on their record racks alongside "Everything is Beautiful" and "The Ballad of the Green Berets." I have even seen a poster reading "Calley for Secretary of Defense," but I don't think Calley is ready for the job yet, he hasn't killed enough. He needs more experience. After all, the Secretary of Defense doesn't slaughter mere handfuls, he slaughters thousands. Calley does show promise though. The tactic he so painstakingly executed at My Lai is the only final solution to the problem of communism in Vietnam. None of the people he slaughtered will have to suffer under a communist dictatorship. The only way to free the Vietnamese people from the threat of communism is to kill them all. As long as one lives, there is the possibility that he will become a communist. But if Calley was merely following orders, as he claims, he doesn't deserve credit for the idea, only for its implementation. He won't be qualified for Secretary of Defense until he can think of such stratagems by himself.

The Secretary of Defense should be regarded as a greater murderer than Lt. Calley and so should the President and so too, many of the pilots who drop bombs on the Vietnamese people. They should all be considered responsible for their crimes and kept from committing more. Millions of Americans have protested in one way or another that Lt. Calley should not be blamed for all their crimes and all the crimes of the army. But the fact is, no one is blaming Calley for all those crimes. He is being blamed for murdering 22 Vietnamese civilians. If he is dishonored and disgraced, that is as it should be. If the Secretary of Defense and the President and other murderers are not dishonored and disgraced it is too bad. Perhaps someday Americans will overcome



their irrational and unjustified reverence for those who wield power and we can have more complete justice. But in the meantime let's not make a hero out of Lt. Calley.

Lt. Calley is no hero, he is a murderer. The fact that he is also a scapegoat does not change the verdict.

For various reasons many people who think no punishment would be too much for Charles Manson refuse to term Calley a murderer even after his trial and conviction. A key issue in the Calley controversy is obedience to authority. If Calley was merely following the orders of his superior officers, then, some people claim, he is not responsible for the murders. This should make the survivors of the massacre happy to know. It wasn't anything personal. Calley had nothing against them. It wasn't his idea. The victims would be relieved if they knew that Calley didn't shoot them because of anything they did. Presumably, Calley would have killed anyone he was ordered to kill, regardless of race, color, or creed. Should such a man be allowed to run free? Rather than being an argument in favor of freedom for Calley, this turns out to be the strongest reason for locking him up. He is admittedly unable to think for himself. He is an automaton, a machine, whose function is to kill people. He is the ideal defender of the State, the perfect GI! It is no wonder that the Commander-in-Chief wants to intervene. He wants to secure the safety of one of his agents. It is like having Charles Manson judge his alleged entranced girlfriends, or worse, like having Hitler judge Eichman.

It has always seemed to me that proving a defendant was not mentally or emotionally able to realize the immorality of the crime he committed makes the strongest case for locking him up. If Calley can't judge the morality of his orders, if he is only an irresponsible boy and not accountable for his actions, he shouldn't be given a gun! He shouldn't be allowed out by himself!

The verdict in the Calley case substantiates the position held by conscientious objectors. People have to be judged by their actions. Even a GI is still an individual with a mind of his own and a will of his own. He is responsible for what he does, even if he is acting as an agent for someone else.

Some people attempt to justify the My Lai slaughter on the grounds that the victims, or some of them at least, were combatants. Even though they weren't armed, they were potentially dangerous. True perhaps, but irrelevant. Since when is it acceptable procedure to slaughter prisoners of war, even if they are combatants?! When American soldiers in Korea were captured and shot during the Korean war, the American public was outraged. Has something changed the moral law since then? If so, then what should the North Vietnamese do with the captured American pilots who have bombed and murdered them

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ANARCHISM REVISITED: SOME CLASSICS REVIEWED

by Sharon Presley

Anarchism is showing a renaissance not only within the libertarian movement but in the publishing world as well. Several anarchist classics long out of print have been recently re-issued.

Two of the most fascinating authors to be resurrected are Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, prominent anarcho-communists of the turn of the century America. Berkman's *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist* (Schoken, \$2.95) thought 59 years old, speaks directly to problems libertarians should be concerned with today. His eloquent and moving description of his prison experiences makes very real the destructive nature of the State prison system. The picture he paints of the horrible degradation and the pointless suffering, the brutal inhumanity that destroys both prisoner and warden alike, compels us to consider questions we may not have considered before. Is such an inhumane institution consistent with libertarian values? Can any crime justify the horrors that have been and are still being perpetrated by the prison system? Shouldn't libertarians be considering more just and humane alternatives?

But *Prison Memoirs* is more than just an indirect plea for the abolition of prisons. It is a testimony of an intensely idealistic young man whose spirit could not be broken. After 14 harsh years that would have ruined a lesser man, Berkman emerged to carry on again his struggle for individual liberty and the anarchist cause. No matter our opinion of the wisdom of his "crime," we cannot help but admire and rejoice at a man of such strength.

Emma Goldman, Berkman's close companion and the best known American anarchist was a fascinating and remarkable woman. Her essays on the problem of women's emancipation in *Anarchism and Other Essays* (Dover, \$2.50) are, for example, far

more insightful and psychologically sound than most of today's Woman's Lib rhetoric. For insight into a truly liberated woman, a woman of great depth and scope, Goldman's autobiography, *Living My Life* (Dover, \$7.50, 2 vols.) cannot be too highly recommended. Her book is exciting not only because of the questions it poses about the "liberation" of both men and women (for example, on the issue of marriage), but also for the inside look it gives into the anarchist movement of Goldman's time. The anarchists were an amazingly vital and intense force, much more so than today, but were virtually crushed by the incredible brutality of the State. We have it easy by comparison but, of course, that may not last.

For the serious student of anarchism, there are several more books to feast upon. A general, comprehensive view of Kropotkin's ideas, particularly well-suited for the beginner, can be found in *Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets* (Dover, \$2.50). For the real scholar, there is *Selected Essays on Anarchism and Revolution* (MIT Press, \$3.95) by Kropotkin; a collection of previously untranslated or out of print essays not to be found currently in print elsewhere.

Historically minded students of anarchism can delight in the reissue of George Woodcock's classic history of the European anarchist movement, *Anarchism* (Meridian, \$4.95), James J. Martin's *Men Against the State* (Ralph Myles Pub., \$2.50), the best history of the individualist anarchist movement in America, is also available once again.

And one last treasure is Benjamin R. Tucker's *Instead of a Book* (Haskell House, \$15.95) a book ranking with Lysander Spooner's *No Treason* as a classic of the individualist anarchist movement. —

Mylai cont

by the score?! In their blind nationalism, the same Americans who think Calley did the right thing also think the North Vietnamese have been treating American POW's too harshly!

Bleeding heart liberals have gotten into the act too, defending Calley in their own foggy way. They say the whole nation is guilty. We are all sinners. Our society is responsible. This assertion seems to me to be obviously false. But if they are serious, we each deserve a trial and a chance to refute whatever evidence these liberal, confessed murderers may have against us. In any case, it does not get Calley off the hook. He has had his trial and has been found guilty beyond a reasonable doubt. The fact that Calley was part of a criminal conspiracy (the U.S. government) does not make him less guilty.

I suppose what these guilt-ridden social democrats have in mind, if anything, is the old myth about the government being of the people, by the people, and for the people. If the government and the army represent the people and are, in truth, agents of the people, then the people share in the guilt for the My Lai murders.

But it is up to the accuser to prove that we are guilty and I don't think they have much of a case against the majority of us. Most of us are not part of the government and the government can not prove that it represents us or acts, in any way, as our authorized agents. They can not prove that we voluntarily agreed to let them do what they do. They can not pass the buck to us.

Another contention of the guilt-ridden liberals is that Calley is

all of us. He is what we made him, he represents the sickness of our society. We brainwashed him and trained him to kill. Therefore, we are morally responsible for what he did. Maybe many Americans do identify with Calley and maybe they would have done the same thing at My Lai if they were ordered to. Much of the American public seems to have had their brains washed as their defense of the My Lai slaughter shows. If Calley and others are being brainwashed of their humanity and taught to kill innocent civilians, they deserve to be pitied. But pity for the inhumans becomes a luxury as the inhumane are the majority. Though you may pity a mad dog it is more important to keep away from him. And what of the people who are the corrupters? They must be found and dealt with. They must be relieved of their power over captive weaker wills. They are guilty of conspiring to commit murders and other particular crimes. The liberals are wrong when they say we are all responsible. Such charges only obscure the issues and prolong the problem. Different people are guilty of different crimes. Some people are guilty of no crimes, and society or the nation as a whole doesn't exist and can not be brought to trial.

Lt. Calley is by no means the only one guilty of war crimes, and if he now understands that the government can not confer on anyone the right to commit murder, then I think he should be let free, rather than be singled out for punishment, both the record should stand that Calley was a murderer and no a hero and the chain of command responsible for the order constitutes a criminal organization. —

A LETTER FROM BILL DANKS

Regarding my census violation case: I've been to court several times already for preliminary hearings motions to dismiss, etc. Three weeks from now U.S. District Court Judge Nils A. Tavares will hand down a decision on the motions to dismiss. He will probably deny the motions and set a trial date sometime in June or July. At present I have no attorney! The A.C.L.U. completely copped out and refused to take the case, although they say they might file an amicus curiae if we push the "selective prosecution" aspect of the case (only four of us are being tried in the whole of Amerika). I was originally given a public defender but later had him taken away when the "Justice" Dept. in Washington informed the court here that I wasn't entitled to one because the jail sentence involved is less than six months. But the way, my co-defendants are not all libertarians. David Watumull is a conservative and former owner of radio station WTRG here (which gave libertarians plenty of air time, and which was eventually closed down by FCC pressure). Donald Dickinson is

another conservative who was general manager of the station. Bill Steele (no relation to California's Bill Steele) is roughly an Anarchist now, though he still has certain right-wing hang-ups regarding foreign policy, nationalism, and the law—on this last point I think he will be radicalized through the census case—during one of the preliminary hearings the judge didn't dig Bill or my long hair and beads and subjected us to questions like, "Are you presently under the influence of Drugs?" "Have you recently received psychiatric help?" and "How much education have you had?" We refused to answer all such questions. Bill was astounded.

We're presenting a constitutional attack on the census, based on Article I and Amendments I, IV, V, IX, and X. Apart from the legal objections, I've been rappin' around town with a lot of students, street people, etc. on my personal objections, i.e. refusal to be counted as part of Amerika, refusal to be included in the collective that makes war, kills blacks, etc. They all seem to dig it and I've been getting a lot of moral support. I'll keep you informed as the case progresses.

—Bill Danks, Hawaii

Those who profess to favor freedom and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want rain without thunder and lightening. They want the ocean without the roar of its many waters—

—Frederick Douglas

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